

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 286538
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-10 OIC-02 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07
L-03 ACDA-12 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02
TRSE-00 DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 /072 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JKORNBLUM:CSR
APPROVED BY EUR:JGOODBY
EUR/PM:SLEDOGER
NEA/RA:HPRECHT
EUR/RPM:JHAWES
PM/DCA:LBRECKO
ACDA:LFISHER
PM:JKAHN

-----014710 010323Z /70

O 010203Z DEC 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 286538

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, NAC

SUBJECT:DECEMBER NAC MINISTERIAL: FIRST DRAFT OF COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) USNATO 11906, (B) STATE 272966

1. ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTY OF INCLUDING ALL POINTS
MENTIONED IN DEPARTMENT'S EARLIER GUIDANCE (REF B) THE IS
DRAFT TRANSMITTED IN REF A STILL FALLS SHORT IN SOME AREAS.
THIS MESSAGES TRANSMITS SOME CONCEPTUAL GUIDANCE, SOME
ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS OF THE OPENING PARAGRAPHS OF THE KIND OF
COMMUNIQUE WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE, AND SOME SPECIFIC
COMMENTS ON INDIVIDUAL PARAGRAPHS IN THE IS DRAFT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 286538

2. DEPARTMENT IS NOT WEDDED TO THE EXACT WORDING OF OUR
ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS, BUT WE DO WISH THE THEMES CONTAINED
TO BE INTRODUCED INTO THE COMMUNIQUE DRAFTING PROCESS AND
DEFENDED WITH VIGOR. WE LEAVE TO MISSION'S JUDGMENT
WHETHER BEST TACTIC IS TO INTRODUCE NEW DRAFT PARAGRAPHS
OR TO MOLD THE EXISTING DRAFT AS DRAFTING PROCEEDS.

3. THE THEMES AND POINTS OF EMPHASIS WHICH THE DEPARTMENT
CONSIDERS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT ARE:

-- PROMINENCE FOR AND EMPHASIS ON THE PRESIDENT'S
LONDON INITIATIVES AND A CLEAR AND NEWSWORTHY STATEMENT

OF PROGRESS TO DATE.

-- A BROADER STATEMENT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF WESTERN
EMPHASIS ON THE WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN DEALINGS WITH
EASTERN COUNTRIES.

-- A THOROUGH AND REASONABLY PROMINENT STATEMENT
ON THE BELGRADE MEETING, EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE THE
ALLIES PLACE ON PURSUING A DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.
THE GOAL SHOULD BE TO MAKE THE COMMUNIQUE AND OUR EFFORTS
IN BELGRADE MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE, ESPECIALLY IN THE PUBLIC
IMAGE THEY PROJECT.

-- ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, AN ECHO OF THE PRESIDENT'S
LONDON THEME OF COOPERATION AND COMPETITION.

4. ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS OF OPENING PARAGRAPHS.

BEGIN TEXT:
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 286538

(2) MINISTERS EXAMINED DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE
COUNCIL'S MEETING IN LONDON LAST MAY. THEY REAFFIRMED
THEIR RESOLVE TO STRENGTHEN THE INSTITUTIONS THAT FUL-
FILL THE COMMON PURPOSES AND ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF
THE ALLIANCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, MINISTERS DISCUSSED
WORK ON THE INITIATIVES TAKEN AT THE LONDON MEETING AND
AGREED THAT THE PROGRAM OF SELF-EXAMINATION AND RENEWAL
WAS PROCEEDING SATISFACTORILY AND ON SCHEDULE.

(3) MINISTERS EMPHASIZED THAT THE VITALITY OF THE
ALLIANCE IS DRAWN FROM COMMON PERCEPTIONS OF THE PEOPLES
OF MEMBER STATES, FROM THE STRENGTH OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC
SYSTEMS AS WELL AS FROM MILITARY PREPAREDNESS. THEY NOTED
IN PARTICULAR THAT DEDICATION TO PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND TO
THE WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A
GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE
EAST. MINISTERS NOTED FURTHERMORE THAT TO BE SIGNIFICANT,
EFFORTS TO REMOVE BARRIERS BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF
EUROPE SHOULD BENEFIT THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS AS
WELL AS RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES.

(4) IN THIS CONNECTION, MINISTERS DREW ATTENTION TO THE MEETING NOW BEING HELD IN BELGRADE AS A FOLLOW-UP TO THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. THEY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO PURSUE A DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO KNOW AND ACT UPON HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES. MINISTERS NOTED THAT A THOROUGH PRESENTATION OF VIEWS ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE FINAL ACT WAS PROVING POSSIBLE AND THAT A DISCUSSION OF THE WAYS

IN WHICH IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE IMPROVED IN THE FUTURE HAD BEGUN. THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN BELGRADE SO FAR HAS CONFIRMED THAT WHILE SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN FIELDS, MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE IN IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 286538

AND IN ENSURING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE WELL-BEING OF INDIVIDUALS. RECOGNIZING THE LONG-TERM NATURE OF THE CSCE PROCESS, THE ALLIES WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS, BOTH DURING THE BELGRADE MEETING AND AFTERWARDS, TO ENSURE THAT A NEW AND STRONG IMPETUS IS GIVEN TO FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT BY ALL PARTICIPATING STATES.

(5) MINISTERS NOTED THAT DESPITE SOME POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN BELGRADE AND ELSEWHERE, THE PATTERN OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS REMAINS UNEVEN, WITH CONTINUING UNCERTAINTIES AND TENSIONS. THEY STRESSED THE NEED BOTH TO BUILD ON FAVORABLE TRENDS WHERE THESE EXIST, AND, AT THE SAME TIME, TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS OF RELATIONS. THE ALLIES WILL PRESS ON WITH THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE BROADER COOPERATION WITH WARSAW PACT STATES ACROSS THE FULL SPECTRUM OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. FOR THESE EFFORTS TO SUCCEED, RECIPROCITY AND RESTRAINT ARE REQUIRED ON THE PART OF ALL GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED.
END TEXT.

5. DETAILED COMMENTS ON IS DRAFT KEYED TO PARA. NUMBERS OF REF A FOLLOW:

-- PARA 2: DEPARTMENT SHARES DESIRE TO AVOID UNNECESSARY RHETORIC. HOWEVER, THE INITIATIVES TAKEN AT THE LONDON SUMMIT ARE THE MAIN FOCUS OF NATO ACTIVITY AT THE MOMENT AND MORE DIRECT REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE BOTH TO THE INITIATIVES AND TO THE "YEAR OF RENEWAL" OR "STRENGTHENING OF NATO INSTITUTIONS" OR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 286538

SOME SUCH LANGUAGE UPON WHICH THEY ARE BASED. WE WOULD SEE THIS REFERENCE IN THE DECEMBER COMMUNIQUE AS HIGHLIGHTING AND POINTING TOWARD RATHER THAN DETRACTING FROM THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT. IT WOULD ALSO BE DESIRABLE AS A MEANS OF STIMULATING CONTINUED PROGRESS ON THE INITIATIVES.

-- PARA 3: WE BELIEVE THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE EXPANDED AND REORDERED TO ACCOMPLISH TWO ENDS: A) TO PLACE MORE EMPHASIS ON THE DEMOCRATIC BASIS FROM WHICH NATO OPERATES; AND B) TO MOVE THE PARAGRAPH ON CSCE TO A HIGHER POSITION IN THE COMMUNIQUE. AS NOTED IN STATE 272966, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT WE SHOULD NOT ALLOW SOVIET STATEMENTS ON THE "DAMAGING" NATURE OF INQUIRIES INTO HUMAN RIGHTS STAND UNCHALLENGED. IF WE DO SO, THE SOVIETS COULD REPEAT THE CLAIM IN THE YEARS AFTER BELGRADE TO JUSTIFY BACKWARD STEPS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. INCLUSION IN THE NATO COMMUNIQUE OF A PARAGRAPH SUCH AS THE ONE TRANSMITTED ABOVE ESTABLISHES A TIE BETWEEN DETENTE AND THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHICH WILL BE USEFUL IN CLARIFYING WESTERN GOALS AT BELGRADE. DEPARTMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE THIS LANGUAGE IS RHETORICAL AND MISSION SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN PARAGRAPH ALONG LINES SUGGESTED ABOVE AND IN STATE 272966.

-- PARA 5: GIVEN IMPORTANCE OF ONGOING CSCE NEGOTIATION, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE MOVED UP TO BECOME THE NEW FOURTH PARAGRAPH OF THE COMMUNIQUE: TEXT TRANSMITTED ABOVE RETAINS SAME WORDING OF PARA. 5 IN USNATO 11906, WITH SENTENCES REORDERED. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 286538

COME EARLIER IN THE PARAGRAPH IN ORDER TO RELATE MORE CLEARLY TO THE STATEMENTS IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH ON THE NEED FOR DETENTE TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS.

-- PARA 6: DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN MENTION OF SSOD. PROPOSED LANGUAGE ON SALT IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

MINISTERS DISCUSSED RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE US-
USSR STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS AND NOTED
WITH SATISFACTION THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN
MADE. THEY EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE CONCLUSION
OF A SALT AGREEMENT WHICH MAINTAINS AND ENHANCES
STRATEGIC STABILITY AND IS RESPONSIVE TO THE
SECURITY INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF THE ALLIANCE.

END TEXT.

DEPARTMENT APPROVES SUGGESTED LANGUAGE ON MBFR.
HOWEVER, IF FRG INITIATIVE IS APPROVED AND READY
FOR TABLING PRIOR TO THE END OF THE MINISTERIAL,'
WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE SOME POSITIVE REFERENCE
TO THIS, ALONG THE LINES THAT MINISTERS OF STATES
PARTICIPATING REVIEWED PROPOSALS INTENDED TO ADVANCE
THE NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD
ENHANCE THE SECURITY OF ALL CONCERNED.

-- PARA 8: DEPARTMENT CONCURS IN PARAGRAPH
ON MIDDLE EAST TRANSMITTED IN USNATO 11906.
REFERENCE TO "SECURITY SITUATION ALONG THE
ISRAEL-LEBANON BORDER" NEED NOT BE INCLUDED.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 07 STATE 286538

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNIQUE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 01-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE286538
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JKORNBLUM:CSR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770444-0940
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197712104/aaaadkoa.tel
Line Count: 257
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a3efcefb-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 USNATO 11906, 77 STATE 272966
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 111722
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DECEMBER NAC MINISTERIAL: FIRST DRAFT OF COMMUNIQUE
TAGS: PDIP, NATO, NAC
To: USNATO
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a3efcefb-c188-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009